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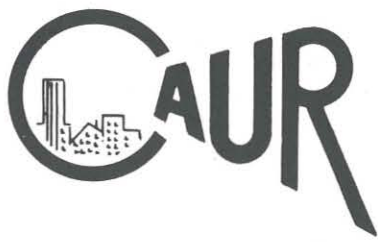
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University of Nebraska at Omaha

REVIEW

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APPLIED URBAN RESEARCH

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TRENDS IN THE 50 LARGEST CITIES

Employment of Black and Hispanic Police Officers

By Sam Walker

EMPLOYMENT of black and Hispanic police officers in the 50 largest cities in the United States falls short of desirable levels. For both racial groups, employment levels are only half of a hypothetical ideal level. Only two of 50 police departments have achieved a high level of equal employment opportunity compliance with respect to both racial groups. Several police departments have made significant progress in minority employment in recent years, either as a result of voluntary or court-ordered affirmative action plans. At the same time, however, some evidence suggests that lay offs imposed by budgetary constraints have negated recent progress in some departments.

EEO and Policing

The importance of racial minority employment by police departments is acknowledged by virtually every expert in the field of policing. Two considerations govern this perspective. The first involves police/community relations. Police experts argue that employment of racial minority group police officers is necessary

for the establishment of good relations with minority group communities.¹ Most experts also assume that the personnel of a police department should approximate the racial composition of the community (that is, in a community with a certain percent black population, the police department should be roughly that percent black). This view is based on three related assumptions: (1) that minority officers will be better able to relate to minority group citizens, (2) that minority group officers will bring a different perspective to the police officer subculture, and (3) that the presence of minority group officers will enhance the image of the department in the eyes of minority group citizens.²

The second governing consideration involves legal constraints. Equal employment opportunity is the law of the land and is specifically embodied in the 14th Amendment, the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the 1972 Equal Employment Opportunity Act, and other relevant federal, state, and local laws.³ Police experts argue that, independently of police/community relations, police departments have an obligation to comply with the law. Failure to comply frequently results in costly litigation and has an adverse effect on police/community relations.

Despite the acknowledged importance of minority employment, little research has been done on the subject. No attempt has been made to compile baseline data on the extent of minority employment by police departments. The FBI's annual *Uniform Crime Reports* compiles data on total employment (civilian and sworn personnel) and male and female sworn officers but not on employment by race. Curiously, this publication did compile

employment data by race for a few years in the early 1960's but then stopped.⁴ The periodic surveys by the International City Management Association compile aggregate minority employment data by city size but not for individual cities.⁵ To date, the most complete data are found in the 1978 and 1981 surveys of police administrative practices conducted jointly by the Kansas City Police Department, the Police Foundation, and the Police Executive Research Forum. However, both surveys report minority employment data for only slightly more than 30 of the 50 largest cities.⁶

Research on the impact of minority group police officers is spotty. Studies of police field practices indicate that black officers arrest and use physical and deadly force in a manner that does not differ substantially from white police officers.⁷ No studies have been made of the impact of minority group officers on the police subculture,⁸ nor has any detailed research taken place on the impact of minority group officers on community perceptions.⁹ With respect to minority employment practices, no research has been done on the legal/administrative/political factors associated with the level of EEO compliance by different police departments.

The Survey

Data on employment of black and Hispanic police officers were drawn from a questionnaire mailed to the office of the chief of police and the office of the municipal director of personnel (or equivalent position) in the 50 largest cities in the United States, and responses were received from 47.¹⁰ Data for the

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three non-responding cities were obtained from the Police Foundation (1982) and the 1981 *Survey of Police Operational and Administrative Practices-1981*.¹¹

Long-term data on employment of black police officers over a 30-year period in ten cities were obtained from a variety of earlier reports on police/community relations. Short-term data on employment trends between 1980 and 1983 of both black and Hispanic officers were obtained by utilizing the 1978 and 1981 PERF surveys.

The EEO Compliance Index

Minority employment was indexed in terms of the percentage of each racial minority group's representation in each city. For analytical purposes a hypothetical "ideal" level of EEO compliance was assumed to exist where the percentage of minority group officers equaled the percentage of that minority group in the community. Thus, where the population was 30 percent black, a police department with 30 percent black representation among its sworn officers would achieve an EEO compliance index of 1.00. In the same community, a police department with only 15 percent black representation among sworn officers would achieve an index of .50.

The EEO compliance index serves two important functions. First, it provides a meaningful basis for comparing the relative compliance efforts of different departments. Stating the level of minority employment in terms of a raw percentage is relatively useless. To say that 25 percent of the officers in a certain city are black is meaningful only if the black representation in the community is known. (An employment figure of 25 percent would represent an extraordinary EEO compliance effort, for example, in Omaha or Seattle but a very poor effort in Atlanta or Detroit). Second, the index allows evaluation of the EEO compliance effort of a police department over time. Saying that the percentage of black officers in a given police department has doubled in ten years is relatively meaningless unless the changes in the community population are known. If, for example, the black representation in the community doubled in the same period, the police department made relatively no progress at all.

The index has several limitations. The percentage of minorities in the city population is not the only potential base for an index. The percentage of minorities in the local work force is an alternative.

Courts have generally used this figure in establishing minority recruitment quotas. Since work force participation is generally between 60 percent to 70 percent of the total population, use of that figure would result in higher index ratings. Choice of which figure to use for the index is governed by alternative perspectives. Use of the total population figure reflects a "service" model and assumes that the police should reflect the composition of the population receiving police services. (In practice, this would not be a completely accurate reflection since racial minorities are over-represented among the clients of police services: as crime victims, as crime suspects, and as users of non-criminal police services.) Use of the work force figure would reflect an "employment" model, involving the assumption that an agency's employment practices should be measured in terms of potential applicants.

By itself, the index does not necessarily indicate the presence or absence of discriminatory employment practices. Thus, a department with a relatively high index of .80 could still be guilty of discrimination if various screening practices were being used to eliminate minority applicants unfairly. By the same token, an index of .60 does not necessarily mean that existing practices are screening out otherwise qualified minority applicants. A low index may, however, indicate a failure to recruit actively an adequate pool of minority applicants. In short, the index is useful for analytical purposes. It provides an objective standard for measuring the EEO compliance effort relative to the composition of the community, other police departments, and past practices. It is not, by itself, an indicator of the presence or absence of illegal employment practices.

EEO compliance index figures are also categorized according to four levels. An index of .75 or higher is considered "high compliance," an index of between .50 and .75 is considered "moderate compliance," an index of between .25 and .50 is considered "low compliance," and an index of below .25 is considered "non-compliance." These rankings are intended for analytic purposes only. They are not intended to suggest that the rate of compliance is acceptable or not acceptable in terms of either employment discrimination law or the felt needs of the community. Thus, for example, an index of .51 ("moderate") means that the percentage of minorities on the police force is only half the percentage in the community. Many observers

would deem this an unacceptable level. By the same token, an index of .74 (again, "moderate") may well mean that the percentage of minorities on the police force is equal to their percentage in the work force. Many observers would regard this as an acceptable level of EEO compliance.

Findings

Employment of black and Hispanic police officers falls short of desirable levels in the nation's 50 largest cities. The mean index for black officer employment is .50, and for Hispanic officer employment it is .47. In other words, the level of employment of racial minorities is only one-half of a hypothetical desirable level. (See Table 1.)

Employment of Hispanic police officers is both better and worse than for blacks. Only three police departments have a "high" level of EEO compliance for black police officer employment, while eight have a "high" level of compliance for Hispanics. Yet, only one department falls into the "non-compliance" category for black officers compared to 11 Hispanic officers. (See Table 2.) Tables 3 and 4 rank the 20 cities with the highest percentage of black population and the 20 with the highest percentage of Hispanics, respectively. For Hispanic employment, four of the eight high compliance cities are among the 20 with the highest percentage of Hispanic population. Additionally, 11 of the 20 cities in Table 4 have indices of .60 or higher. By comparison, none of the 20 cities with the highest percentage of black population falls into the high compliance category. Only two have indices above .60, and only three are above the .50 level. This suggests that Hispanics are relatively more successful in obtaining police employment in those cities where they are a significant proportion of the population. Blacks, on the other hand, have been far less successful in translating their sizeable presence in the community into police employment. Eight of the 11 Hispanic non-compliance police departments are in cities where the Hispanic population is 1.5 percent or less of the city population.

Table 5 indicates 30-year trend data on black police officer employment for nine selected cities. (The availability of these data, which are derived from a variety of sources, is a consequence of the political importance of police/community relations with respect to black Americans during this period.

TABLE 1
BLACK AND HISPANIC POLICE EMPLOYMENT IN THE 50 LARGEST CITIES

Rank Order by Population 1980	City	Sworn Officers	Black Officers		Percent of Blacks in Community	Index	Hispanic Officers		Percent of Hispanics in Community	Index
			Number	Percent			Number	Percent		
1	New York	23,408	2,395	10.2	25.2	.40	1,704	7.2	19.9	.36
2	Chicago	12,472	2,508	20.1	39.8	.51	432	3.4	14.0	.24
3	Los Angeles	6,928	657	9.4	17.0	.55	943	13.6	27.5	.49
4	Philadelphia	7,265	1,201	16.5	37.8	.44	46	0.6	3.8	.16
5	Houston	3,629	355	9.7	27.6	.35	314	8.6	17.6	.49
6	Detroit	4,032	1,238	30.7	63.1	.49	32	0.7	2.4	.29
7	Dallas	2,053	169	8.2	29.4	.28	96	4.6	12.3	.37
8	San Diego	1,363	76	5.5	8.9	.62	107	7.8	14.9	.52
9	Phoenix	1,660	48	2.8	4.8	.58	156	9.3	14.8	.63
10	Baltimore	3,056	537	17.5	54.8	.32	10	0.3	1.0	.30
11	San Antonio ^{a/}	1,164	54	4.6	7.3	.63	384	32.9	53.7	.61
12	Indianapolis	936	123	13.1	21.8	.60	1	0.1	0.9	.11
13	San Francisco	1,957	159	8.1	12.7	.64	159	8.1	12.3	.66
14	Memphis	1,216	268	22.0	47.6	.46	0	0.0	0.8	.00
15	Washington, D.C.	3,851	1,931	50.1	70.3	.71	40	1.0	2.8	.36
16	Milwaukee	1,438	168	11.6	23.1	.50	66	4.5	4.1	1.09
17	San Jose	915	20	2.1	4.6	.46	159	17.3	22.3	.78
18	Cleveland ^{a/}	2,091	238	11.3	43.6	.26	6	0.2	3.1	.06
19	Columbus	1,197	133	11.1	22.1	.50	0	0.0	0.8	.00
20	Boston	1,871	248	13.2	22.4	.59	40	2.1	6.4	.33
21	New Orleans	1,317	276	20.9	55.3	.38	26	1.9	3.4	.56
22	Jacksonville ^{a/}	1,263	78	6.1	25.4	.24	9	0.7	1.8	.38
23	Seattle	1,011	42	4.1	9.5	.43	18	1.7	2.6	.65
24	Denver	1,379	82	5.9	12.0	.49	180	13.0	18.8	.69
25	Nashville	969	114	11.7	23.3	.50	3	0.3	0.8	.38
26	St. Louis	1,763	346	19.6	45.6	.43	0	0.0	1.2	.00
27	Kansas City, MO	1,140	123	10.7	27.4	.39	18	1.5	3.3	.45
28	El Paso	650	13	2.0	3.2	.63	370	56.9	62.5	.91
29	Atlanta	1,313	602	45.8	66.6	.69	9	0.6	1.4	.43
30	Pittsburgh	1,222	175	14.3	24.0	.60	4	0.3	0.8	.38
31	Oklahoma City	662	27	4.0	14.6	.27	5	0.7	2.8	.25
32	Cincinnati	971	89	9.1	33.8	.27	1	0.1	0.8	.13
33	Fort Worth	766	43	5.6	22.8	.25	51	6.6	12.6	.52
34	Minneapolis	672	20	2.9	7.7	.38	8	1.1	1.3	.85
35	Portland	688	19	2.7	7.6	.36	9	1.3	2.1	.62
36	Honolulu	1,557	11	0.7	1.2	.58	4	0.2	5.2	.04
37	Long Beach	637	20	3.1	11.3	.27	35	5.4	14.0	.39
38	Tulsa	695	30	4.3	11.8	.36	4	0.5	1.7	.29
39	Buffalo	1,018	86	8.4	22.6	.37	21	2.0	2.7	.74
40	Toledo	757	139	18.3	17.4	1.05	28	3.6	3.0	1.20
41	Miami ^{b/}	1,051	181	17.2	25.1	.69	413	39.2	55.9	.70
42	Austin	607	43	7.0	12.2	.57	73	12.0	18.7	.64
43	Oakland	636	147	23.1	46.9	.49	59	9.2	9.6	.96
44	Albuquerque	561	14	2.4	2.5	.96	184	32.7	33.8	.97
45	Tucson	549	17	3.0	3.7	.81	95	17.3	24.9	.69
46	Newark	1,144	275	24.0	58.2	.41	55	4.8	18.6	.26
47	Charlotte ^{b/}	644	144	22.3	31.0	.72	0	0.0	1.1	.00
48	Omaha	551	46	8.3	12.0	.69	12	2.1	2.3	.91
49	Louisville	673	68	10.1	28.2	.36	1	0.1	0.7	.14
50	Birmingham	646	109	16.8	55.6	.30	0	0.0	0.8	.00

^{a/} 1980-81 data. Source: Police Executive Research Forum, *Survey of Police Operational and Administrative Practices 1981*. (Washington: PERF, 1981).

^{b/} 1982 data. Source: Peggy Triplett, The Police Foundation.

Equivalent data on police employment of Hispanics are not available). The most striking data in Table 5 reflect the dramatic improvement in employment of black officers in Atlanta, Detroit, and Washington, DC. These figures confirm the informal national reputations enjoyed by these three cities for their recent affirmative action efforts. All three cities have black mayors. Further research

should be directed toward investigating whether black political power and leadership is a critical variable in achieving equal employment opportunity goals. However, at least two cities with persistently very low compliance rankings (Cleveland and Cincinnati) have also had black mayors or city managers at one point. Newark, with both a black mayor and a black police chief, meanwhile, has

an index of only .41 in 1983.

The 30-year trend data for Chicago represent a fluctuating pattern of significant improvement in the 1960's followed by a decline in the 1970's. Tentatively, Chicago's progress in the 1960's can be attributed to the leadership of Superintendent O. W. Wilson, at the time the most respected national figure in police administration.¹² Significantly, the

TABLE 2
COMPLIANCE LEVELS,
BLACK AND HISPANIC
POLICE EMPLOYMENT

Compliance Level	Number of Departments	
	Black	Hispanic
High (Index = .75+)	3	8
Moderate (Index = .50-.74)	20	13
Low (Index = .25-.49)	26	18
Non-compliance (Index = less than .25)	1	11

TABLE 3
TWENTY CITIES WITH LARGEST
PERCENT BLACK POPULATION

City	Percent Black Population	Index
Washington, D.C.	70.3	.71
Atlanta	66.6	.69
Detroit	63.1	.49
Newark	58.2	.41
Birmingham	55.6	.30
New Orleans	55.3	.38
Baltimore	54.8	.32
Richmond	51.3	.46
Memphis	47.6	.46
Oakland	46.9	.49
St. Louis	45.6	.43
Cleveland	43.6	.26
Chicago	39.8	.50
Philadelphia	37.8	.44
Cincinnati	33.8	.27
Dallas	29.4	.28
Houston	27.6	.35
Kansas City	27.4	.39
Jacksonville	25.4	.48
New York	25.2	.40

employment discrimination suit filed against the Chicago police in 1973 focused on recruitment in 1970, three years after the departure of Superintendent Wilson. The subsequent leaders of the Chicago police department seemingly failed to maintain the commitment established by Wilson, with a consequent decline in Chicago's index and the filing of employment discrimination litigation.

The data for Philadelphia also indicate a dramatic improvement from the early 1950's through the mid-1960's, followed by a decline coinciding with the career of Frank Rizzo, first as police commissioner and then as mayor. Employment discrimination litigation against the Philadelphia police commenced in 1970. After 13 years this litigation continues and has apparently had little success in improving Philadelphia's index.¹³

TABLE 4
TWENTY CITIES WITH LARGEST
PERCENT HISPANIC POPULATION

City	Percent Hispanic Population	Index
El Paso	62.5	.91
Miami	55.9	.70
San Antonio	53.7	.61
Albuquerque	33.8	.97
Los Angeles	27.5	.49
Tucson	24.9	.69
San Jose	22.3	.78
New York	19.9	.36
Denver	18.8	.69
Austin	18.7	.64
Newark	18.6	.26
Houston	17.6	.49
San Diego	14.9	.52
Phoenix	14.8	.63
Chicago	14.0	.24
Long Beach	14.0	.39
San Francisco	12.3	.66
Fort Worth	12.6	.52
Dallas	12.3	.37
Oakland	9.6	.96

Table 5 also shows the deterioration of black police employment in Cincinnati from the early 1950's to the mid-1960's. During this period the index declined by over half, and it has not risen significantly in the last 15 years.

Short-term (1980-83) trend data are given for selected cities in Table 6. Significant, even dramatic, improvement in black police employment is found in Toledo, Omaha, Dallas, New Orleans, and Los Angeles. At least two of these cities (Los Angeles and Omaha) have operated under court-ordered quota systems for police recruitment. Further research should be directed toward investigating the extent to which litigation and/or quota systems are a critical variable

TABLE 6
SHORT-TERM TREND DATA,
SELECTED CITIES
RANK BY PERCENT OF CHANGE

City	1980 ^{a/} Index	1983 Index	Percent Change
Toledo	.48	1.05	118
Omaha	.40	.69	72
Dallas	.16	.27	68
New Orleans	.22	.37	68
Los Angeles	.35	.55	57
Birmingham	.20	.30	50

^{a/} Police Executive Research Forum, *Survey of Police Operational and Administrative Practices 1981* (Washington: PERF, 1981).

in achieving equal opportunity goals. The gains in Detroit, for example, are generally attributed to a voluntary quota system for recruitment and promotion. At the same time, protracted litigation in Chicago and Philadelphia has apparently been unsuccessful in improving black police employment.

Affirmative action efforts in Detroit for both black and female police officers have been set back by layoffs imposed by budgetary constraints. An estimated 85 percent of the 700 officers laid off in the late 1970's were black and/or female. Table 7 indicates the impact on the employment of black officers. The percentage of black officers fell from 33.7 in 1977 to 25.9 in 1980-81. Subsequent recruitment and rehiring brought the figure back to 30.7 percent by 1983. These data indicate that 81 of the 170 officers (47.6 percent) hired between 1980 and 1981 were black. The effect of the layoffs was even more devastating on the employment of female

TABLE 5
30-YEAR TREND DATA, SELECTED CITIES

	1950-52 ^{a/}	1960-62 ^{b/}	1965-66 ^{c/}	1980 ^{d/}	1983
Atlanta	.03	.13	NA	.50	.69
Chicago	.27	.52	.62	.48	.50
Cincinnati	.44	.33	.21	.25	.26
Dallas	.07	.06	NA	.16	.27
Detroit	.14	.12	.12	.41	.48
Philadelphia	.19	NA	.55	.44	.43
New York	.32	.42	NA	.34	.40
St. Louis	.28	.26	.29	.38	.42
Washington	.33	.27	.33	.67	.71

^{a/} William M. Kephart, *Racial Factors and Urban Law Enforcement* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1957); Elliott M. Rudwick, *The Unequal Badge: Negro Policemen in the South* (Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, 1962).

^{b/} FBI, *Uniform Crime Reports* (Washington: 1961); Rudwick, *The Unequal Badge*.

^{c/} President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, *Task Force Report: The Police*. (Washington: 1967), pp. 168-172.

^{d/} Police Executive Research Forum, *Survey of Police Operational and Administrative Practices 1981* (Washington: PERF, 1981).

officers. As the data in Table 7 indicate, the percentage of female officers declined from a high of 13.5 percent in 1978 to 7.4 percent in 1980, nearly returning to the 1976 level.¹⁴ These data suggest the devastating impact of layoffs on affirmative action where layoffs are governed by a seniority-based principle.

Conclusions

Despite recommendations by experts extending over several decades, minority employment by police departments in the 50 largest cities falls short of desirable goals. Equal employment opportunity statutes have apparently had only inconsistent impact on the problem in the past decade. Considerable progress has been made in some cities as a result of either voluntary or court-ordered affirmative action plans, but other cities have made little if any progress.

This report focuses attention on several questions meriting further research:

(1) What factors are associated with compliance with EEO goals? What is the relative importance of political leadership (particularly black or Hispanic mayors), administrative leadership (in terms of a progressive police chief), and litigation?

(2) To what extent are racial minorities represented in the supervisory ranks (sergeant and above) of police departments?

(3) What is the impact of a relatively high compliance with EEO goals on police performance, the attitudes and behavior of white police officers, and the image of the police department in the community?

(4) What is the full extent of personnel layoffs on the employment of minorities?

(5) How does employment of minorities by police departments compare with other components in the criminal justice system?

These questions are the subject of ongoing research by the Department of Criminal Justice and the Center for Applied Urban Research at the University of Nebraska at Omaha.

Year	Percent Black	Percent Female
1975		5.2
1976		7.0
1977	33.7	12.3
1978		13.5
1979		11.8
1980		7.4
1981	25.9	
1982	30.0	11.0
1983	30.7	

⁴U.S. Department of Justice, *Crime in the U.S.* (Washington: Government Printing Office, annual).

⁵International City Management Association, *Baseline Data Report* 15, 1, "Police Personnel Practices" (January, 1983).

⁶John F. Heaphy, ed., *Police Practices: The General Administrative Survey* (Washington: The Police Foundation, 1978); Police Executive Research Forum, *Survey of Police Operational and Administrative Practices-1981* (Washington: PERF, 1981).

⁷Donald Black, *The Manners and Customs of the Police* (New York: Academic Press, 1980); William A. Geller and Kevin J. Karales, *Split-Second Decisions: Shootings of and By Chicago Police* (Chicago: Chicago Law Enforcement Study Group, 1981); James J. Fyfe, "Who Shoots? A Look at Officer Race and Police Shootings," *Journal of Police Science and Administration* 9 (December, 1981), 367-382.

⁸James B. Jacobs and Jay Cohen, "The Impact of Racial Integration on the Police," *Journal of Police Science and Administration* 6 (June, 1978), 168-183; Nicholas Alex, *Black in Blue* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969).

⁹Scott Decker and Russell Smith, "Police Minority Recruitment: A Note on its Effectiveness in Improving Black Evaluations of the Police," *Journal of Criminal Justice* 8 (1980, No. 6), 387-394.

¹⁰Questionnaires were mailed to both the office of the chief of police and the office of the chief personnel officer for the city. In several instances both responses were returned but with conflicting data. In such cases the data from the police department were used.

Omaha, 1977-1983

In 1980 the city of Omaha entered into a consent decree, settling an employment discrimination suit brought by black police officers. The decree established that 40 percent of all new police recruits would be black until black officers comprised 9.5 percent of the entire force. The 9.5 percent figure was based on the fact that blacks constituted 9.5 percent of the local work force. (See Table 8.)

At the time of the consent decree, black officers comprised 4.8 percent of the Omaha Police Division. At present, the figure is 8.3 percent. Thus, the consent decree has raised Omaha's EEO compliance index from .40 to .69.

A new recruit class of 30 officers is anticipated for the fall of 1983. Under the terms of the consent decree, 12 of these recruits would be black. By the end of 1983, then, black officers would comprise 9.9 percent of the force. Not only would this satisfy the terms of the 1980 consent decree, but it would raise the EEO compliance index to .82. At present the EEO compliance index for Hispanic police officers in Omaha is .91. Thus, the anticipated recruit class would mean that Omaha would become one of only three cities among the 50 largest cities in the country with a high compliance rating for both racial groups.

(If the anticipated recruit class contains Hispanic officers, the figures for Hispanic employment would, of course, rise. These calculations also assume no retirements or resignations in the next few months. Retirements or resignations by white or black officers would raise or lower the figures for black employment accordingly.)

	1977	1980	Oct., 1983	1983-84 ^{a/}
Total officers	535	553	551	581
Black officers	27	27	46	58
Percent black	4.0	4.8	8.3	9.9
EEO compliance index	.41	.40	.69	.82
Hispanic officers			12	
Percent Hispanic			2.1	
Compliance index			.91	

^{a/} Assuming anticipated recruit class of 30 officers, fall 1983.

¹President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, *Task Force Report: The Police* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 167.

²Herman Goldstein, *Policing a Free Society* (Cambridge: Ballinger, 1977), Ch. 10.

³U.S. Department of Justice, *Affirmative Action in the Criminal Justice System* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1979).

¹¹Correspondence, Peggy Triplett, The Police Foundation; PERF, *Survey of Police Operational and Administrative Practices-1981*.

¹²William J. Bopp, O.W.: O.W. Wilson and the Search for a Police Profession (Port Wash-

ington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1977); Samuel Walker, *The Police in America: An Introduction* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1983), Chs. 1, 4, 5.

¹³A consent decree regarding recruitment of black police officers was signed in the fall

of 1983 and will undoubtedly affect employment figures for the Philadelphia police department in the immediate future.

¹⁴Cynthia G. Sulton and Roi D. Townsey, *A Progress Report on Women in Policing* (Washington: The Police Foundation, 1981).

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